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NA-Indians

Colonial Indian Missions

FLORIDA
NEW MEXICO
SOUTHERN
ARIZONA
TEXAS
CALIFORNIA
☆
MAINE
NEW YORK
UPPER LAKES
REGION
ILLINOIS
LOUISIANA
☆
MARYLAND



by
Matthias Kiemen, O.F.M.

Vol 3 #5

25¢

A hand-drawn map of the United States showing the locations of various Native American tribes. The tribes are labeled in boxes: AENAH, MOHAWK, ONONDAGA, ORONDA, CAYUGA, SENECA, SUSQUEHANNA, PATKES, TIGATAD, KASHA, MICHIGAN, PEORIA, KASKASKIA, CHOKTAW, IZOO, NAGCHEZ, ARKANSAS, COMANCHE, PAWNEE, ZUNI, JEMEZ, HOPI, YUMA, APACHE, and PIMA. An arrow points to the Pawnee tribe.

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Colonial Indian Missions

THE RECORD OF CATHOLIC MISSIONERS
TO THE AMERICAN INDIANS

1521 - 1848

By

MATTHIAS KIEMEN, O.F.M.

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INDEX

	PAGE
1. INTRODUCTION	3
Definitions	3
Three Decisive Factors	4
Historical Continuity of the Various Mission Fields...	7
The Missionaries	7
Division of Material	10
Bibliographical Note	10
2. THE SPANISH INDIAN MISSIONS	12
Florida	12
New Mexico	17
Southern Arizona	20
Texas	23
California	26
3. THE FRENCH INDIAN MISSIONS	31
Maine	32
Iroquois Missions in New York State	35
Mississippi Valley	37
Upper Lakes Region	38
Illinois Country	39
Lower Louisiana	42
4. THE ENGLISH INDIAN MISSIONS	45
5. CONCLUSION	49

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CATHOLIC COLONIAL MISSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AMONG THE INDIANS

1

Introduction

DEFINITIONS

1. The record of what the Catholic Church did for the Indians during colonial times within what is today continental United States—that is the theme and the scope of the present study. The term “colonial times” is taken to comprise the centuries when these vast regions were under the dominion of one of the three European colonizing nations, viz., Spain, France and England. The southern borderlands extending from Florida and Georgia westward along the Gulf of Mexico and the Mexican border to California and thence northward along the Pacific coast to Oregon—these lands remained Spanish possessions until well into the 19th century; wherefore our study of the Indian missions in these regions will extend to the year 1819 in the case of those lying east of the Mississippi River, and to 1848 in the case of those lying west of that river.

2. The dominion of France in North America was terminated by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, whereby her lands east of the Mississippi River and in the Great Lakes region became English possessions and remained such until the Treaty of Paris in 1783 that ended our War of Independence and made these territories

part of the United States of America. Hence the present study will cover Spanish, French and English colonial times, and four terminating dates should be remembered—1763 and 1783, 1819 and 1848. Furthermore, the study is limited to the enterprises of the three colonizing nations for the Indians, to the exclusion of what the Church did for the Spanish, French and English settlers in these regions.

THREE DECISIVE FACTORS

3. The extent of these enterprises and the relative success achieved by the missionaries were conditioned chiefly by three decisive factors, namely: a) the government policy of the colonizing nation regarding the Indian, b) the varying density of the Indian population in the respective territories, and c) the cultural status of the Indians themselves. These factors in turn created most of the problems that confronted the missionary in his work and influenced the methods he employed in pursuing it.

4. In the lands under consideration, as in all her overseas possessions, the fundamental principle that shaped the Indian policy of the Spanish Government was the physical preservation of the Indian, his religious and moral conversion to Christianity, and his political and economic entrance into Spanish society. In comparison, the French Government was far less actively interested in preserving and elevating the Indian, and correspondingly far less generous in supporting mission work among them. As to the English Government, it disregards completely the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indian; wherefore the missionaries in the English lands, even more so than those under French domination, were thrown on their own resources without any protection and assistance from their government.

5. This difference of government policy explains in large measure why the Spanish missions as compared with the French and English were so remarkably successful. At the same time, however, it should be remembered that government support, as it obtained in the Spanish missions, was not always and everywhere an undivided blessing. The *Real Patronato* or Right of Royal

Patronage, from which it flowed, had also its disadvantages. It variously hampered the efforts and tended to cool the zeal of the missionaries, especially in the last decades of the 18th century when the welfare of the Indian was in far less degree the objective of the Spanish Government than it had been in the preceding centuries. Conversely, where the maintenance and progress of mission enterprises depended upon private benefactions, as in the French and English regions, the missionary was much freer in formulating methods and in pursuing them.

6. Another factor to be considered in reckoning the extent and success of missionary efforts is the relative density of the native population in the regions where the missionaries labored. Obviously, where the population was more dense and the natives more inclined to community life, the number of mission establishments could be larger, the opportunities for conversion greater, and the zeal of the missionary more productive of encouragement and results. How densely the various regions under consideration were inhabited is still and perhaps will always remain a matter of conjecture and controversy among ethnologists and anthropologists. The best estimates are probably those of A. L. Kroeber in his *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*. Taking 100 square kilometers as a working unit of habitation, Kroeber adduces figures to designate the number of Indians per unit. Geographical sectors being arranged to suit our present purpose, the figures in question are as follows:

East of the Mississippi River. The Southern Region. Natchez-Choctaw-Cherokee area, 20. The Great Lakes Region: Illinois county, 3.1; Ohio Valley, 2.3; Wisconsin sector, 13; Iroquois area, 9.7. The Atlantic Seaboard: Northern (Micamac-Abenaki area), 2.3; Middle (New England area) 25.7; South (Piedmont and Lowland area) 14; Carolina Sound, 32; Virginia Tidewater, 39; North Florida (Timucua area) 12; South Florida (Calusa area) 2.0.

West of the Mississippi River. The Gulf Region: South Texas, 3.2; North Texas, 5. The Great Plains and Platte Region: Pawnee, 7.6; Comanche-Apache, 3.1. The New Mexico

Region: Pueblo Indians, 76. The California Region: Southern Arizona (Yuma) 33 and (Pima) 25; the Pacific slope (San Diego area) 39 and (San Francisco area) 75.

7. Accordingly, in colonial mission days the most densely populated regions were the Middle and South Atlantic seaboard, the Pacific slope and the New Mexico region. Most thinly populated were the Illinois country, the Ohio valley, the North Atlantic seaboard, and Southern Texas.

8. The third factor that in a large way determined the extent and success of the missionary enterprises was the cultural status of the Indians. Human culture, as here understood, is the sum-total expression of the trait-elements that shape man's mode of life. In this sense the elements in question may be grouped under three heads: *physical* (food [agriculture, hunting, fishing] clothing and shelter, domestication of animals, communication and transportation); *mental* (language [oral and written], useful arts [textile and ceramic], fine arts [decorative and aesthetic], architecture, artifacts); *moral* (political organization, relations [domestic and intertribal], Religion [beliefs and observances], moral standards).

9. The Indian tribes among whom missions were conducted in colonial times were, without exception, in the so-called primitive stage of cultural development. Not even the most cultured among them were enjoying before mission days those comforts, attainments, and ideals that go with the Christian civilization of the European nations under whose dominion they came. According to Kroeber's calculations, the sedentary Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and the Natchez tribes in the South-Mississippi region were, relatively speaking, on the highest plane of culture; whereas the North-Atlantic (Micmac and Abenaki), the South-Florida (Calusa), the South-Texas (Lipan, Karankawa, Atakapa), and the South-Plains (Apache and Comanche) tribes were on the lowest plane.

10. The natives of the North-Pacific coast of California (San Francisco area) stood higher in point of cultural development

than those farther south (San Diego area). About the same situation obtained on the Atlantic coast. Slightly more advanced than these two seacoast groups were the Iroquois of the upper New York area, the Cherokees of the Appalachian summit, the Timucuas of northern Florida, the Caddos of northern Texas, and the Wild Rice people of the Wisconsin area.

HISTORICAL CONTINUITY OF THE VARIOUS MISSION FIELDS

11. The first sector of the United States to be systematically evangelized in the Southeast (Florida, Georgia and the Carolinas) where the history of our missions begins in the third decade of the 16th century. Next in order of time is the Southwest (Texas, New Mexico and Arizona). In both these areas the Spanish missionaries were already at work when France and England began operations; wherefore the next two sectors would be the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes region (from Maine and New York to Wisconsin), and the Middle-Atlantic region (almost exclusively Maryland). The inter-colonial wars, beginning about the year 1680, energized mission work in the fifth sector, the Mississippi Valley region (from Illinois to Louisiana), while the triple threat of Russia, England and the newly established United States led to the establishment of missions in the sixth sector, the Pacific Coastlands (California).

THE MISSIONARIES

12. Those who evangelized the Indians were, with few exceptions, members of a Religious community. The reason for this was not because they were more fit, morally and intellectually, than members of the secular clergy. In those days as in our own a Religious Order or Congregation, with its community of goods and uniformity of training, was not only in a better position to maintain mission establishments financially when this was necessary, but also to fill vacancies in the missionary personnel when illness, old-age or death called for replacements. This in turn made it possible for the missionary in the field to attend more effectively because more exclusively to the spiritual phases of his ministry, while he at the same time found encourage-

ment in the assurance that his work would not collapse in case he himself became incapacitated or death cut short his labors.

13. Catholic missions among the Indians in colonial times were conducted by four Religious Orders—the Order of Preachers (Dominicans), the Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans), the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), and the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (Capuchins)—and by two groups of secular clergy—the Seminary Priests of Quebec and the Society of Saint-Sulpice—who did not belong to a canonically founded Religious Order but to a more or less loosely organized community of diocesan priests.

14. In point of number, extent of mission field and length of service the list is headed by the Franciscans. Barring the early efforts of the Dominicans and Jesuits in Florida and of the Jesuits in southern Arizona, the Franciscans were the sole missionaries in the so-called Spanish Borderlands—Florida, Georgia, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. In the French regions of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes—from Maine and New York to Wisconsin—and in the Mississippi Valley and the Ohio Valley, the Indians were evangelized by the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the Sulpicians, the Seminary Priests of Quebec, and the Franciscans (here known in French parlance as the Recollects). Indian missions in the Atlantic region were conducted by the Jesuits, Franciscans and Capuchins; while the California missions were, as previously noted, in the charge of Franciscans.

15. Because the history of certain sectors or of certain periods has not yet been adequately investigated, it is impossible to state exactly how many priests and Lay Brothers labored among the Indians in colonial times, how many missions (centers and stations) were founded, and how many Indians were brought into the fold. Figures presented on any of these points must for the present remain partly conjectural. All we can say is that the records so far unearthed and utilized by historians warrant the statement that the largest number of missions were in the Spanish Borderlands, notably in Florida and New Mexico; further, that in these two regions the number of Indian converts was greater than in any other region.

16. The missionaries as a class, Lay Brothers as well as priests, were men of sterling virtue and heroic enterprise, deeply imbued with religious fervor, unselfishly devoted to the arduous and frequently discouraging task of bringing the Indian into the fold; undaunted in facing privations of every sort, exposure to hunger and disease and to harsh treatment and violent death at the hands of misguided natives; truly heroic in the practise of Christian virtue and in the observance of their religious vows.

17. Indeed, there were those among the missionaries who proved unworthy of their high calling and by their conduct impeded rather than promoted the work of conversion. So small is their number, however, that reference to them merely shows what would have occurred if the missionaries as a class had been less qualified men than they were to achieve the great task entrusted to them. As it is, their record constitutes an exceedingly glorious and edifying chapter in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

18. Perhaps nothing speaks of this more eloquently and convincingly than the long list of those who may be styled "Our Missionary Martyrs." (We take this term to mean those missionaries who died violent deaths at the hands of natives, while in the performance of the duties of their calling.) Careful investigation of the records reveals the fact that the total number of "Our Missionary Martyrs" amounts to 83. Of these, 1 was a Sulpician, 3 were Seminary Priests of Quebec, 3 were Dominicans, 14 were Jesuits, and 63 were Franciscans. (The number of martyrs has been enumerated as high as 101 [1 Sulpician, 1 Capuchin, 3 secular priests, 7 Dominicans, 15 Jesuits, and 74 Franciscans]; but we adopt the lower figure as more conservative.)

19. But martyrdom does not itself imply that habitual holiness of life, that heroism in the practise of Christian virtue, which is less spectacular and for this reason less apt to catch the eye and find its way into the records. In this respect, too, the history of the colonial missions shows the working of Divine grace in a

manner that should command the attention of our Catholic students of American Church History. Many a priest and Lay Brother, during the long years they served God in the mission field, were heroes of personal sanctity, winning Indian souls for Christ as much by the example of the holy life they led as by the inexhaustible zeal with which they ministered to the spiritual and material needs of the Indians.

DIVISION OF MATERIAL

20. In a paper of this kind, there are many possible ways of treating the enormous amount of material to be covered. In the interests of clarity and simplicity, however, it seems best to tell in three separate chapters the story of the Spanish, French and English Indian missions, treating each story as a unit, and following it through to the end of the colonial period.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

21. In 1854 John Gilmary Shea published in New York his *History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854*. This is the first and only attempt ever made to cover in one volume the entire field of our colonial mission history. Five reprints of Shea's volume were published in the course of time (1855, 1857, 1870, 1882 and 1899) and in 1858 a German translation of it appeared. Significant is the fact that this volume anticipates by more than half a century the well-known Bolton-Marshall textbook, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921). Like it, the Shea volume begins with the work of the Spaniards along our southern border; then treats the French enterprises along our northern border and in the Mississippi valley, and finally takes up the work of the English in the Atlantic region.

22. Whatever the reason may have been, this manner of approach and treatment, now generally recognized as most acceptable for adequacy and accuracy, was not observed by Shea in the first volume of his four volume work, *The Catholic Church in*

Colonial Days, 1521-1763 (New York, 1886). No one having taken the cue offered by Shea in his 1854 book and its subsequent reprints, another generation had to pass before the Spanish portion of our history, ecclesiastical as well as profane, was given the attention and treatment which obviously ensures a correctly comprehensive picture of the historical development of the United States.

Two other general sources to be considered are: Schmidlin-Braun, *Catholic Mission History* (Techny, 1933), which gives a fairly adequate picture of some portions of our mission history; and James Mooney, "Catholic Indian Missions of the United States," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 384-391.

In these preliminary observations it might be well to offer a list of works that, besides those just cited, can be called general since they cover one or more of the territorial sections mentioned above.

Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York, 1911). This, the first of Lowery's two volumes (the second under the same title deals exclusively with Florida up to 1574) is the best comprehensive treatment of the first contacts and endeavors between 1513 and 1561, by Europeans (Spaniards) from Florida to New Mexico.

Michael Kenny, S.J., *The Romance of the Floridas* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1934) covers a wider field than the title indicates, though the non-Florida region is treated in less detail.

Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921) deals with Spanish enterprises from Florida to California during the colonial period and is our best summary account.

Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., *A Tentative Guide to Historical Materials on the Spanish Borderlands* (Philadelphia: Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1943) lists over a thousand titles of books and magazine articles, many of which deal with the missions.

Sister Mary Doris Mulvey, *French Catholic Missionaries in the Present United States, 1604-1791* (Washington: Catholic

University Press, 1936). This volume takes in New England and the Iroquois country, the Lake Michigan and Wisconsin region, the Illinois country and Louisiana.

Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (Santa Barbara: Old Mission, 1908-1915), in four volumes, tells in great detail the story of the California missions, including those in Lower California. A revised and augmented edition has appeared of Volume I (Lower California) in 1929 and of Volume II in 1930. An index volume of 136 pages greatly facilitates the use of this standard work. It might be added that Engelhardt published also the local history of sixteen of the twenty-one California missions.

C. E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936*, in seven volumes (of which five have appeared), is the most complete and authentic history of Texas available.

2

The Spanish Indian Missions

FLORIDA

23. The story of the Spanish Indian missions begins in the Southeast, in Florida, Georgia and South Carolina. From the date of the discovery of Florida in 1513 by Ponce de León, expedition after expedition landed on these shores. But misfortunes of one kind or another dogged the footsteps of the first colonizers and the accompanying missionaries. From the very beginning, the Spanish Crown emphasized the missionary quality of these trips.

24. Ponce de León, in 1521, was accompanied by secular priests and Dominicans. Ayllón, in 1526, had 3 Dominicans with him (one of whom was probably the first priest to say Holy Mass on our mainland). Narváez, in 1527, brought 5 Franciscans with him, one of whom, according to most of our authorities, was a Bishop-Elect, Father Juan Suárez. De Soto, in 1539, brought

12 priests with him, 8 secular priests (primarily as army chaplains) and 4 friars (2 Dominicans, 1 Trinitarian, and 1 Franciscan). These early trips were colonizing and Christianizing ventures—they were meant to be permanent. The Spanish government's attitude was clearly expressed in the *cédula* or grant to Ayllón:

... Our principal intent in the discovery of new lands is that the inhabitants and natives thereof who are without the light of the knowledge of faith may be brought to understand the truth of our Catholic Faith, that they may come to a knowledge thereof and become Christians and be saved, and this is the chief motive, you are to bear and hold in this affair, and to this end it is proper that religious persons should accompany you. By these presents I empower you to carry to the said land the Religious whom you may judge necessary and the vestments and other things needful to the observance of divine worship.

Such was the government attitude at that time, and such it substantially remained during the entire period of Spanish colonization. The Spanish conquistador, in the words of an American historian, was "a zealous warrior for Church and King."¹

25. Missionaries, as has been said, accompanied soldiers in all colonizing expeditions. But in 1549, Luís Cáncer, O.P., obtained permission to evangelize the Florida coast alone, without the help of any soldiers. His zeal was heroic and commendable, but on stepping ashore near present day Tampa Bay, he was wantonly and cruelly murdered by the Indians.

26. These first attempts, then, were fruitless of lasting results. Only in 1565, after the founding of French settlements in Virginia, a territory claimed by Spain, was Spain successful in founding permanent settlements in Florida. The leader of this enterprise was Menéndez de Avilés, a rich Spanish nobleman, who sailed from Spain in 1565 with 20 ships and 2,600 persons, among them 5 secular priests, 8 Jesuits, 12 Franciscans and 1 Mercedarian. Storms and pirates played havoc with his fleet, and a much smaller number of colonists and priests actually landed in Florida.

1. H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), p. 3.

27. The first settlement was named St. Augustine. Some Religious began work here, but of them and their labors we know nothing positive. Father Francisco de Mendoza, a secular priest, celebrated the first Mass on September 8, 1565. This the earliest permanent settlement and the first permanent Catholic parish within the limits of the United States were founded simultaneously. It is fitting that a secular priest has the honor of being the first Pastor in the United States, since the primary purpose of the Spanish crown in sending secular clergy with the colonizing expeditions was to take care of the spiritual needs of the Spanish colonists and soldiers, leaving the Indian mission work to the members of Religious Orders.

28. In the following year, 1566, some Dominicans came to the colony and began work. However, they seem to have returned to Spain within a few months. The same year witnessed the arrival of three Jesuits, sent personally by St. Francis Borgia. Ten more followed in 1568. During the years 1566-1572, the Jesuits did outstanding work in that section of the country; but insurrections of the Indians cut short their work. Father Martínez, S.J., and eight other Jesuits were murdered by the Indians during these years. It had been impossible for them to accomplish much in their work of conversion, due to the deep immorality and constant wandering of the various tribes. The Fathers of the Society, despairing of success, departed from Florida, and founded a province of their Order in Mexico. Things looked very dark indeed at this time. Menéndez de Avilés was recalled to Spain in 1572.

29. At the insistence of the Spanish Government, in 1573, the Franciscans took over the missionary work in Florida, where they were to remain until this territory passed into English hands. Nine of them arrived in 1573. At first the Franciscan attempts met with results similar to those of their religious predecessors, but slowly they became more successful. Missions were erected all along the coast, from Florida's tip to present-day South Carolina. Of several outstanding men, Fray Alonso Reynoso was the most esteemed. Of him H. E. Bolton says: "... the hero of all this early Franciscan period was Fray Alonso Reynoso. Devout, gentle, zealous, tireless, his figure, though shadowy in the distance,

still looms large and strong. He was a 16th century Serra on the Atlantic coast."²

30. In 1597 the missions suffered a severe setback. A chief-tain's son, angered by the missionary's rebukes of his licentiousness, provoked a general uprising in the Guale country (Georgia). Before it was over, six friars had met death. Loyal Indians at San Pedro Island routed the murdering tribes. The revolt was over, but the northern missions were practically abandoned until 1601. In fact, Philip III of Spain was thinking seriously of abandoning Florida altogether at this time. Against this the friars pleaded and won. A new governor, Ibarra, was sent out in 1603, and with him begins the Golden Period of the Florida missions. Ibarra made a personal tour of the entire territory.

31. The Guale territory was reoccupied by the friars in 1606. In one year, more than a thousand adults received baptism. The Indians to the south of St. Augustine were finally persuaded to accept Christianity. Bishop Altamirano, O.P., of Havana, made a personal visitation of the entire Florida area at this time, and administered the sacraments of Confirmation and Holy Orders for the first time within the boundaries of the present United States. Over 2,000 Indians received Confirmation at his hands.

32. The missions began to prosper. In 1612, *La Florida* together with Cuba was erected into a Franciscan Province. Large numbers of friars, often twenty or thirty at a time, now entered these fields. Five missions were established in Georgia, two in South Carolina.

33. In the West the Apalache Indians had long been asking for missionaries. Their request was granted in 1633, and within twenty years there were nine flourishing missions, extending from St. Augustine to present day Tallahassee.

34. In 1674 the friars penetrated even farther inland to the Apalachicolas. But here the presence of English traders impeded their work to a great extent.

2. H. E. Bolton, *The Debatable Land* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1925), p. 14.

35. The flourishing Apalache mission field was not left unmolested. As the years passed the pressure of the enemies of Spain, the uprising of the Indians, and the successive inroads of the English trade made necessary the placing of large military garrisons at the mission outposts. Quarrels ensued over food. The civil authority tried to enforce tribute from the Indians, but the chiefs refused, saying they were not slaves of the Spanish authorities, just because they had embraced Christianity. When the Spaniards tried force, an insurrection broke out in which some soldiers were killed. The Governor began war, and hung a number of Indian chiefs. This unjust war completely broke up the flourishing Apalache missions. The Franciscans, unable to continue among the bitterly excited Indians, left for Havana to await better times. All these missionaries were drowned on the way, and with their deaths Florida lost all Religious teachers skilled in the Apalache tongue. It was a terrible blow to the missions.

36. In 1674 Bishop Calderón visited the Florida Province, spending eight months at the task. Under his successor, Don García de Palacios, a Synod was convoked in 1684. The constitutions drawn up at that time relative to Florida remained in effect as long as that province was under the Spanish flag.

37. It is to be noted here as elsewhere in the Spanish dominions that the growth and decline of the mission effort paralleled closely the political successes and reverses of the State. As the Spaniards fell back along the Atlantic coast and inland, the missions were abandoned also. Depredations committed in English invasions, such as that of Governor Moore in 1704, destroyed missions and killed or scattered missionaries. Little was left of the once flourishing mission field by 1763 when by the Treaty of Paris, Florida was transferred to English control. This was the death blow for the Catholic missions. During the twenty years of English control, all the Franciscans left, and the Indians slowly relapsed into barbarism and paganism.

38. The Florida missions form a glorious page in American mission history. Despite all the setbacks, insurrections and inroads, thousands of Indians were "hispanicized and Christian-

ized" during the two centuries of Spanish rule. Up to the year 1655, 26,000 Indians had been converted. Bishop Calderón in 1674-1675 confirmed 13,152 Christianized Indians.

39. And the individual missionary—what was his daily work?

Varied indeed were the labors of these pioneers . . . At the missions there were churches and houses to build, fields to clear, and the monotonous round of spiritual offices to perform. There were children to instruct, daily Masses to be sung, and special ceremonies to be performed on feast days; there were marriages to solemnize, babes to baptize, medical aid to administer to the sick, and last rites to perform for the dying and the dead. All these activities must be carefully written down as a matter of record. This, too, was faithfully done, for models of neatness are the old mission books. But these routine labors were only part of the missionary's toil. He must write long letters to his religious superiors, or to the Governor at St. Augustine. He must report all disturbances among the Indians or rumors of intruding Englishmen; for these missionaries were news agents and diplomats on the frontier, as well as spiritual teachers.³

We turn now to the Spanish missions of the Southwest—the territory included in present-day New Mexico, Arizona and Texas.

NEW MEXICO

40. In point of time, New Mexico was the first of the Southwest mission fields. Fray Marcos de Niza, O.F.M., carried out the preliminary explorations, and accompanied the resulting colonizing expedition of Francisco de Coronado in 1540, together with four other Franciscans, one of whom was Juan de Padilla. When the expedition, for various reasons, returned to Mexico in 1542, three Franciscans remained behind. Juan de Padilla was martyred, probably in 1544, by the Indians. To him belongs the distinction of being the proto-martyr of the United States. His two confreres eventually suffered the same fate.

41. After 1540, nothing was done in New Mexico for some forty years. The next notable expedition was led by Fray Agustín Rodríguez, an old missionary Lay Brother in Mexico. Two friar

3. *Ibid.*, p. 22 f.

priests and a few soldiers accompanied the old Brother. While on the way, one of the priests, Fray María, returned alone to Mexico, and was murdered by roving Indians. The other two friars established a mission at a Tigua town above modern Albuquerque. One day, when the soldiers were absent, the two friars were killed by Indians.

42. Missionary efforts now ceased in New Mexico until 1595, when Juan de Oñate led a huge expedition there. The Franciscans were placed in charge of the missionary work, ten of them accompanying Oñate. In 1598 the first church was dedicated. The following year, six more Religious arrived and began work. But the work did not prosper, due in large part to Oñate's lack of cooperation.

43. In 1601, some of the friars thought seriously of abandoning the field, but the Mexican Province, which supplied the friars for the work, would not agree to this. The conversions, however, were few. In 1607 there were but 400 converts. The difficult Indian languages had not yet been mastered by the Spaniards. The year 1608 was the turning point. By this time there were 7,000 converts among the Indians. The Spanish crown took over immediate control of this region to ensure permanent success.

44. By 1617 there were 14,000 converts served by eleven churches. The decade after 1620 was the most glorious in the history of New Mexico. The quality of the missionaries was of the highest. Among them we find the renowned author Salmerón, who converted 6,500 Jémez Indians in five years—1621 to 1626—and who upon his return to Mexico published his *Doctrina* in the Jémez language, the first of its kind in the United States.

45. New missionaries arrived periodically during this time. At the close of the year 1629 there were twenty-five residences from which the Fathers served 56,000 neophytes. New missions were opened among the Moqui Indians of northern Arizona, the inhabitants of the Rock of Ácoma, and the Commanche tribe.

But such success was not to be won without martyrdoms. Three of the friars suffered violent deaths at the hands of the Zuñi and Moqui Indians, in 1632-33.

46. By 1638, all the Pueblos of Indians had become Catholic. Their number (reduced by epidemics) was 40,000, and they were served by fifty missionaries living in thirty residences. However, these neophytes were but one generation removed from paganism. It would take another century of steady, grinding work to eradicate all that was pagan and to form a solid structure of faith. During the following decades the Fathers devoted themselves to this monotonous routine, the most trying of missionary activities.

47. Things went well for a while, but discontent was sown among the Indians by the abuse of the settlers and soldiers, and was insidiously fostered by the medicine men. To make matters worse, the Apaches began a series of destructive raids in 1762. Five missions were destroyed. This was only the prelude.

48. In 1680 the so-called Pueblo Revolt broke out. Before it ended, twenty-one Franciscans were killed at their stations. The result of eighty years' labor was demolished and the pueblo mission work received a blow from which it had not fully recovered until very recent times. It must not be thought, however, that all the pueblos of Indian towns joined in this revolt. Some remained faithful to their Catholic religion, and became staunch supporters of the Faith. But a goodly number of the rebellious Indians, after relapsing into their old paganism, were never entirely reconverted. In 1691 and 1692, the Spanish Governor Vargas succeeded in pacifying the pueblos, and twenty friars were with him to reopen the missions. Their work among the rebellious Indians was at first most discouraging. In 1696 five more of their number were killed in a smaller uprising.

49. The period 1696 to 1754 was comparatively a disappointing period, during which the friars fought an uphill battle to rebuild the missions. The Government's policy caused many quarrels between officials and missionaries. But, by the year 1700 there were again over 100 Franciscans at work in the field, and most of the missions had been reopened.⁴

4. H. W. Kelly, *Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1769* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940) (Vol. X (April, 1941) of *Publications in History* of the Historical Society of New Mexico, p. 15). See also Marion A. Habig, "Franciscan Provinces in North America," in *The Americas*, I (1944), 222 f.

However, toward the end of the 18th century the number of friars continually diminished, and financial help was given more niggardly.

In 1805 there were only twenty-six friars serving thirty missions in New Mexico. With the Mexican revolution in 1821, all Spaniards were forced to leave the country. The mission period in New Mexico was over.

50. Before turning to our next territory, it is interesting to point out that, strange as it seems to modern governments, conversion of the Indians was the main interest of the Spanish crown in New Mexico, especially during the period from 1608 to 1695. The Crown maintained this colony, at heavy expense, all during the 17th century, with no commensurate financial returns. As Dr. Lansing Bloom says: "Rather than permit the spiritual loss of the native people (in New Mexico), the King chose to maintain a useless frontier province which produced no revenue but which rather occasioned continual heavy expenditures to himself."⁵ It is estimated by Dr. Bloom that the Spanish crown, during the period mentioned above spent the astounding total of 2,290,000 pesos to maintain the New Mexico mission. As the same author concludes in his article, ". . . the fact stands that, at least during the 17th century, the dominating motive in Spanish administration of New Mexico was the religious one."

SOUTHERN ARIZONA

51. During the Spanish period of domination in this region, present-day southern Arizona was included in the country called "Pimería." This was rather an extensive term, including much of the state of Sonora in Mexico and southern Arizona to the Gila River. The region was divided into "Lower Pimería" and "Upper Pimería." It is only the latter region—the "Pimería Alta"—which is to be considered at this time. Northern Arizona above the Gila River was part of the territory of New Mexico, and has already been treated above.

52. Southern Arizona was explored and evangelized by the Jesuits and Franciscans. The Jesuits were the trail blazers here, and the Franciscans took over these missions after their unjust expulsion.

⁵. Lansing S. Bloom, "Spain's Investment in New Mexico Under the Hapsburgs," in *The Americas*, I (1944), 5.

53. Mission activity in southern Arizona in the early period was desultory. There were no such focal points as the pueblos of New Mexico from which to work. The Indians—Pimas—were in the main of a roving type. The area itself offered little for profitable exploitation. The earliest missionaries were chiefly explorers, seeking information about the country and its inhabitants, but without the means or numbers to establish the Faith there.

54. After these first explorations (see above under "New Mexico") well over a century passed before actual missionary work was begun. The Jesuit Fathers had missions in Sonora in Mexico and were slowly but steadily moving northward towards Arizona, planting the Faith as they went, and building a chain of mission houses.

55. In 1687, Father Kino arrived in Pimería Alta to begin a term of service lasting twenty-four years. He founded the mission of Our Lady of Sorrows on the San Miguel River. From this station, "Kino and his companions, Jesuits and soldiers, pushed the frontier of missionary work and exploration across Arizona to the Gila and Colorado Rivers."⁶

Father Kino traveled widely in southern Arizona in this twenty year period after 1691. He was zealous in his work of preaching and converting the Indians. However, since there were no permanent workers in the field, tangible results of his efforts were few, and at his death in 1711, there was still no regular mission or resident priest. For twenty years after his death there was no further missionary activity in the area.

56. But Father Kino had prepared the way for the activity that was to follow. He built up large stock and grain farms to support the missions. Bolton says: "As an explorer Kino ranks among the greatest of the Southwest."⁷ His last days were to him a time of disappointment. Funds for his missions were not forthcoming, and he could not carry out his great plans. The thousands of converted Indians relapsed into their former pagan ways after his death, until 1732, when a missionary revival took place.

6. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, p. 195.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

57. A new band of Jesuits, mainly Germans—Keller, Sedelmayr, Steiger, Grashofer—took up Kino's work. San Xavier del Bac, the foundations of which Fr. Kino had laid in 1700, and other missions, were reoccupied. There was a brief mining rush in 1736 at Arizonac.

58. After five years events lagged again. A Pima uprising in 1751 caused another resurgence. And then in 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from their missions. In the same year these missions were entrusted to the Franciscans of the Missionary College of Querétaro in Mexico. They entered upon their new charge in 1768. The eight residences of the Jesuits were placed in charge of as many friars, who found in the sixteen towns attached to these places a total of 2,018 neophytes.

59. Of these Franciscans, Fr. Garcés stands out most prominently. He was in charge of the mission at San Xavier del Bac for about ten years. Fr. Garcés was another great explorer and preacher. He explored in every direction, including Upper California and northern Arizona. His mission at Xavier prospered greatly during this time. He was mainly instrumental in founding the city and mission of Tucson.

60. In 1779 the chief of the Yuma Indians accepted Christianity and enthusiastically welcomed the missionaries who came to work among his people. Fr. Garcés was overjoyed and made great preparations for this venture. But the government officials told the missionaries to confine their work to preaching and the Sacraments, and proceeded to antagonize and humiliate the Yumas by enforced labor. Two years later came the terrible Yuma Massacre, in which Father Garcés, three other Franciscans, and many other Spaniards were killed.

61. After the Massacre, and, in the Divine Plan, perhaps on account of it, the friars had considerable success in their work for some years. But after 1800 the missions declined, and, as in New Mexico, at the declaration of Mexican Independence all Spanish friars had to leave.

TEXAS

62. The first formal attempts to Christianize the Indians in Texas were not the result of a search for riches or wealth, nor of the fear of foreign aggression. Rather they were the result of the honest and laudable desire of Franciscan missionaries from the Province of Jalisco in Mexico to convert the Indians who lived beyond the Rio Grande.

63. Contact between the Spanish outposts of northern Mexico and the Indians who lived along the Rio Grande was common and frequent.

For more than two decades many of these Indian tribes had been sending messengers to the principal cities of Mexico to solicit missionaries to instruct them in our Faith. Under what influence they had been moved to take this unprecedented step . . . can be easily deduced. The miraculous apparition of the "Woman in Blue" was, no doubt, the source of these early delegations. Not until 1673, however, were measures finally adopted to meet their frequent requests. In this year the conversion of these tribes was formally entrusted to the Franciscan Missionaries of the Province of Jalisco (in Mexico). In the course of their labors they were to extend their activity . . . beyond the Rio Grande into present day Texas.⁸

64. The central figure of this new venture was Fr. Juan Larios. The good friar labored for almost three years among the tribes just south of the Rio Grande. In 1673, Fr. Larios was joined by a priest and two Lay Brothers. Later in the same year, a regular colonizing expedition was formed in Guadalajara to settle the northern territory. Fr. Larios was named Superior of the new mission field, and a priest and Lay Brother were given him as assistants. The missionaries were given a splendid reception by the Indians, but a smallpox epidemic and the scarcity of food caused the Indians to leave the mission reductions and wander northward. One of the Lay Brothers, and later, Fr. Penasco, Fr. Larios' helper, made trips into Texas and brought back hundreds of the wandering Indians.

8. Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1936), I, 217.

65. A good start had been made, but the work was slowed down by the lack of sufficient missionaries. One of the missions, Santa Rosa, had to be abandoned for lack of supplies. In the absence of the missionaries, the Indians, feeling themselves betrayed, burned the mission buildings. After this event, Fr. Larios realized the necessity of armed guards in the outlying mission stations.

66. In 1675, Fr. Larios made an expediton into Texas. The Indians here, as elsewhere, welcomed the missionaries. May 16th of that year, according to authentic reports, witnessed the first Holy Mass celebrated on Texas soil. All along this trip, the Indians besought the friars to baptize them, but Fr. Larios steadfastly refused to do so until they had been better instructed.

67. From this time on, missionary activity, though it lagged, never died out in Texas. In 1663 missions were established among the Jumanos Indians at La Junta by Frs. López, Zavaleta and Acevedo. The year 1684 witnessed a widespread revolt of the Indians in this whole territory, in imitation of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in New Mexico. It is gratifying to note that the Christianized Indians remained loyal to their missionaries (with whom they had no quarrel), and escorted them out of the danger zone, even carrying the sacred vessels and church ornaments for the Padres. After this insurrection ceased, the friars returned, but the Indians were restless, and not much could be done.

68. In 1690, an expedition was fitted out to thwart the designs of the French along the Texas coast. It was accompanied by five priests under the leadership of Father Massanet. These Fathers worked among the Tejas Indians. This tribe was more civilized than most other tribes of the region, who were nomads. The Tejas had permanent settlements. Several missions were established in eastern Texas, but did not prosper. The Indians were indifferent to Christianity, and actually became hostile to it. In 1693 the missionaries were forced to abandon Mission San Francisco de los Tejas, their chief mission house.

69. The priests just mentioned, and all missionaries after that date in Texas during the colonial period, were members of spe-

cially instituted Mission Colleges. They were friars specially set aside for mission work, who had undergone a special course of training preparing them for their objective by prayer, mortification, studies in language and ethnology of the pagans and in missionary technique. The colleges that sent workers to Texas were those at Querétaro and Zacatecas, Mexico.

70. After 1693, mission efforts slackened, until, in 1716, the Padres returned in force, led by Fr. Antonio Margil, and founded a series of missions in the area of Texas.

Fr. Margil has been described by the historian Shea as "one of the most remarkable men in the history of the Church in America, whether we regard his personal sanctity, the gifts with which he was endowed, or the extent and importance of his labors for the salvation of souls."⁹ He worked even in Louisiana, ministering to the French settlers there. Gregory XVI, in 1836, declared Fr. Margil's virtues heroic.

71. The Texas missions had reached their highest point about 1769 with an Indian population of about 15,000. The nomadic character of most of the Texan tribes made mission work very difficult. As a result, the Indians gradually melted away from the reductions and were replaced by Spanish settlers, so that by the time of the Texan War of Independence there were only white pueblos in that vast commonwealth.

72. It is interesting to note the general plan of these missions.

Each station had generally two Fathers and a Lay Brother, several families of civilized Indians from Mexico, well supplied with all necessary stock and implements, and a small guard of soldiers for the protection of the little colony.

One Father attended to spiritual affairs exclusively, the other to the civilizing of the Indians induced to join the mission, teaching them agriculture and the various arts of life. It was his task, too, to visit the neighboring tribes, and by preaching gain new members for the colony. When an Indian joined the mission he was instructed, and his labor for a time went to the

9. J. G. Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York: John G. Shea, 1886), I, 486.

common stock, from which he drew food, clothing and other necessities. When, after a few years' probation, he was deemed capable of self-management, a field was allotted to each, and a house built for him. If not married, he was urged to select a wife from the Christian women. In this way the mission became surrounded by a village, and as the Indians learned Spanish, and frequently intermarried with Spaniards, they were soon confounded with them.¹⁰

CALIFORNIA

73. Russian intrusions down the Pacific slope and the fear of an English incursion overland from Canada or from the Ohio Valley induced the Spanish Crown to undertake the colonization of so-called Upper California (the present state of California).

The plan adopted was typical of Spain's method of holding and assimilating new frontiers. Soldiers and missionaries were to go forth side by side, and plant military colonies and missions at San Diego and Monterey, then the most celebrated harbors on the coast, for the Bay of San Francisco was still unknown.¹¹

74. A base of operations for this venture was at hand, namely, Lower California (i.e., the peninsula of California within present-day Mexican limits). Since the expulsion of the Jesuits, the work in Lower California had devolved upon a band of Franciscan friars, sons of the missionary college of San Fernando in Mexico City. The president of these "Fernandinos" in Lower California, Fray Junípero Serra, was chosen to head the new missions in what we know as California. He was to take with him five other friars.

75. The expedition, which was under way early in 1769, consisted of two passenger vessels and a supply ship and two overland parties. Both by land and by sea, the way was difficult. Many died of scurvy on the boats; and on land, only 126 of the original 219 arrived at San Diego. On Sunday, July 16, 1769, Fr. Serra preached for the first time to a group of natives and dedicated the mission of San Diego de Alcalá. Civilized Indians and supplies, such as cattle and grain, had been brought along. These

10. J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions*, p. 85.

11. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, p. 259.

Indians and supplies formed the nucleus of the new missions as they were founded.

76. During the first year, lack of food almost caused the abandoning of the expedition, but providentially a relief ship arrived in time. Mission San Carlos was established near Monterey in 1770. The expedition was successful. The menace of the Russian advance down the west coast from Alaska had been successfully met, and Spain's frontier had been advanced 800 miles.

77. Thus far two missions had been established. A new impulse came from an increase of missionaries, whom Fr. Palóu brought from Lower California (which meanwhile had been turned over entirely to the Dominican friars).

78. By the year 1773, three more missions—San Antonio, San Gabriel and San Luís Obispo—had been founded. In this same year, Fr. Serra made his first report to the Mexican authorities. There had been 491 baptisms and 62 marriages, in the first four years. Progress had been slow. But as the missionaries learned the languages of their charges they were more successful. Another improvement was the placing of the missions some distance from the military establishments, whose inhabitants were not infrequently sources of scandal for the neophytes.

A few days after the founding of San Juan Capistrano came the first great disappointment from the Indians. On November 5, 1775, the neophytes of San Diego revolted and killed Fr. Luís Jayme, who thus became the first martyr of California. (The others who lost their lives at the hands of the Indians were Fr. Francisco Pujol, who was poisoned at San Antonio in 1801, and Fr. Andrés Quintana, who was lured away to a false sick call and killed at Santa Cruz in 1812.)¹²

79. Fr. Serra, as President of the Missions, received the faculty of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation in 1778. From that time until his death on August 28, 1784, he confirmed 5,309 persons, who, with but few exceptions, were Indians converted during the fourteen years from 1770 to 1784.

12. Bonaventure Oblasser, "The Franciscans in the Spanish Southwest," in *Franciscan Educational Conference Report*, 1936, p. 116 f.

80. The founding of the first six missions has already been mentioned. The missions at San Francisco and Santa Clara were founded in 1776, San Buenaventura in 1782, Santa Barbara in 1786, Concepción in 1787, Santa Cruz and Soledad in 1791, San José, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel and San Fernando in 1791, and San Luís Rey in 1798. Santa Inés was founded in 1804, San Rafael in 1817, and San Solano in 1823.

81. The year 1805 saw the greatest number of friars in these missions, namely, forty-five in all. By 1820 these missions contained a population of 20,010 Christianized Indians.

Despite unfavorable conditions and much opposition, these missionaries achieved a success, which surpasses that of any similar effort anywhere in the United States. During this first period (of forty years), they gathered, instructed and baptized 51,400 Indians, who, but for the labors of the missionaries, would never have known the Creator, nor the end for which they were created. At the same time, they weaned their converts from a life of abject idleness, taught them how to support themselves and put them on the way to become useful citizens. All this cost the Government nothing, since the friars served without compensation. The allowance from the Pious Fund (a sort of trust fund donated by pious Catholics in Mexico, whose interest was used by the Jesuits, who originated it, and, after their suppression, by the Franciscans) while it lasted, was used for embellishing the churches, or turned over to the general mission fund.¹³ It was not long, however, before these missions actually became self-supporting.

By the year 1819, there had been 68,218 Indians baptized in the California missions.

82. Disturbances in Mexico in 1815 were the beginning of the end for the prosperous missions in California. In the year 1833 the decree of secularization of the missions was promulgated in Mexico. This act divided the lands into allotments for the individual Indians, into community lands of the town, and into lands which had to be worked for the upkeep of the church and the village. The Padres were restricted to purely ecclesiastical work. The administration of mission properties was entrusted to government representatives.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 117 f.

83. This secularization came too early for the Indians. Though it required some years to complete the ruin of the missionary establishments, this was the beginning. As for the Indian pueblos or towns, which were to take their place, there was no success in any of them. The government officials appointed to administer the property of the missions, accomplished little else than enriching themselves. A few years sufficed to strip the establishments of everything of value.

84. As a fitting conclusion to the colonial mission history of California, it seems well to include here the words of Dr. Bolton, speaking of Fr. Junípero Serra, the guiding spirit behind the California missions:

Of names illustrious in the pioneer mission field of America, none is more renowned than Junípero Serra . . . In his character, it is plain, Serra was gentle, loving and selfless. Like Kino, he had distinguished himself in the Old World and had turned his back upon honors to enter the laborious and perilous life of a missionary to savages. It was a life that promised little but hardship, disappointment and danger, to be cut short, perhaps, by a death of agony at the hands of those he sought to save. Whatever might be the worldly policies of governors, and ecclesiastics pertaining to the results of his labors, the true missionary himself was moved by two separate motives—a passion for his Faith and a yearning towards those whom he deemed eternally lost without it. His humanity as well as his zeal found exercise in a fatherly interest in the children of the wilderness and in efforts to teach them innocent games and pleasures in the place of some of their native amusements which were less moral. To learn their various languages—and Indian languages are among the most difficult to master—to coax them into habits of industry, to make them love labor and strict virtue as well as the Catechism—required infinite patience and kindness no less than a heart staunch against all fear.

Such a blend of zeal and humanity was seen in Junípero Serra. Withal, he was an organizer and executive. All in all, indeed, Serra was the outstanding Spanish pioneer of California.¹⁴

85. This brings to an end our consideration of the Spanish colonial Indian Missions in the United States. Before leaving

14. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, p. 277 ff.

this subject, it would be well to try to evaluate, as far as we can, *the role of the mission in Spain's colonial policy*. That it was an important part of Spanish colonial policy, no one will deny. It has been said that Spain relied on the conquistador, the presidial soldier and the missionary to make and hold frontiers. We are interested in the last of these three. Let us see how the mission was utilized by Spain.

From the very outset of the conquest, the policy of the Crown was characterized by deep religious and humanitarian motives. In 1493 the papal seal of approval was placed on Spain's western claims with the understanding that the peoples conquered were to be converted and civilized. From that time on, all through the colonial period, the high ideals of the Spanish kings found expression in innumerable laws and decrees intended for the welfare of the Indian. It is true that these ideals failed to a large extent to materialize, but the guilt lies with the colonials, who were eager and able to ignore and violate the royal commands, doing so with impunity because of the great distance that separated Spain from her colonies and the slowness of communications.¹⁵

86. It must be kept in mind that the mission as a frontier institution was intended to be a temporary force. The missionary was the vanguard of a civilization; he was to convert and domesticate the savage; to draw the fangs of the wilderness; after this was done, he was to give place to the ordinary settler, and move on to new fields, his place taken by secular priests. Theorists in government circles, basing their view on the civilized Indians of Mexico and Peru, asserted that the mission period was to last only ten years in any given place. The missionaries in the United States region, realizing the gap in cultures, insisted that a much longer period of transition was needed to enable the Indians to lead a life of equality with the Spanish settlers. This explains the missionaries' constant fight against secularization of the missions. Where the missionaries were vanquished in this struggle (as in California) bitter experience proved the truth of their contentions.

15. H. W. Kelly, *Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1769* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940) (Vol. X (April, 1941) of *Publications in History* of the Historical Society of New Mexico, p. 4).

The missionary came primarily as a religious agency. He was a harvester of souls, but, incidentally on his part and designedly on the part of the government, he became a school teacher, geographer, scientist and practical philanthropist. The missionary served both the Church and the State not only by Christianizing the frontier but in extending, holding and civilizing it. The Indian, to become a worthy, practical Christian and a desirable subject, had to be schooled in the rudiments of civilized conduct. The missions thus served not only as seminaries, but as practical training schools in the art of European living.¹⁶

The greatest contribution of the missionaries lay not in extending, holding, and promoting of the frontier, but in its civilization. Spain entertained high ideals, and found herself faced with serious practical difficulties. She . . . had no restless, excess population to pour into the American wilderness. Her colonial policy, perhaps equalled in humanitarian idealism by no other country, looked to the preservation of the Indians and their eventual elevation to the status of full-fledged subjects. The fact that this idealism may have been partially motivated by the necessity of supplying a substitute for the lack of Spanish colonists should not detract from its reality.¹⁷

3

The French Indian Missions

87. From the days of Cartier and Verrazano in the early years of the 16th century, Catholic France became interested in the conversion of the American Indians. Cartier's commission authorized him to explore, "in order the better to do what is pleasing to God, our Creator and Redeemer, and what may be for the increase of his holy and sacred name, and of our holy mother, the Church." But with France, as with Spain, the mo-

16. *Ibid.*, p. 5 f.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 8 f.

tive of missionary endeavor was usually found concomitant with that of exploration and territorial acquisition.

88. The first French expedition to present-day United States whose purpose was colonization was that of Sieur de Monts in 1603. He was sent to found a colony in what was called Acadia, a name which included roughly the expanse of land between Montreal and Philadelphia. Father Nicholas Aubry, a secular priest, accompanied this expedition, but it is not known whether he did any work among the Indians.

MAINE

89. The beginning of organized missionary labors by Frenchmen in our country took place in what is now the state of Maine. Two Jesuits, Frs. Biard and Massé, were sent there at the request of Henry IV. On arriving in 1611, the two missionaries set to work to learn the language of the local tribes. Fr. Biard worked his way along the coast as far as the Kennebec River, preaching the Gospel among the Abenakis. But both Fathers suffered great indignities at the hands of French Huguenots, and were glad to join a Catholic expedition in 1613, bound for Mount Desert Island, at the mouth of the Penobscot. The new colony, called Saint-Sauveur, was hardly established when some English ships from Virginia captured the place and destroyed it, taking the Jesuits back with them to Virginia, from which place they barely escaped with their lives.

90. Six years after the founding of Quebec by Champlain, in 1608, Franciscan Recollect missionaries (a reform group within the Order of Friars Minor or Franciscans) were brought to this mission field. Their primary work was to minister to the colonists, but they also did some missionary work among the Indians, including those living in Maine. In the following years, additional Franciscans joined the first four. But, although missionary prospects looked bright, the ultimate practical result of their missionary efforts was not large.

This was due, perhaps, largely to the fact that their dependence upon the French and the necessity of spiritual min-

istrations to them required much of their time, and to the fact that the Indians were found to be exceedingly fickle by nature and thus created for the Recollects serious baptismal problems. Meanwhile, three Recollects from the European province of Aquitaine settled (1619) in Acadia and there began work among the Abenakis.¹⁸

They were finally expelled by the English in 1627.

91. In 1625 the Franciscans, realizing the magnitude of the task ahead of them, invited the Jesuits to come to their assistance in French Canada. Frs. Lalemant, Massé and Brébeuf arrived in the same year; they were followed by others.

92. But in 1629 Quebec was captured by the English, and as a consequence, the Franciscans, Jesuits and most of the people left for France. English rule there was short. In 1632 the *Fleur-de-lis* was again flying over Quebec. After the restoration, however, the Franciscans, much to their disappointment, were excluded from Canada (they were admitted again in 1670), and the entire mission field was given to the Jesuits, except Acadia, which was assigned to the Capuchins.¹⁹

93. Unlike the Jesuits, the Capuchins have left few accounts of their mission in Acadia. But we do know that at least one of their seven or eight mission-houses was in Maine. In 1652 ten priests and six Brothers were on the Acadian mission. After the English seized Port Royal in 1654 there remained only two Capuchin missionaries. Of one of these, Fr. Baltazar, it is said that he knew the language of his neophytes as well as he knew his native French, and that he had converted more Abenaki than had all the other missionaries. Fr. Baltazar made a trip to France and returned to Acadia in 1656. Nothing more is known of him. The rest of the Capuchins left the country in 1655. About forty Capuchin missionaries have been accounted for in the Acadian mission field between 1632 and 1655.

94. A Jesuit priest, Fr. Druilletes, labored along the Kennebec River for some thirty years among the Abenaki. He had entered

18. Schmidlin-Braun, *Catholic Mission History* (Techny: Mission Press, 1933), p. 445 f.

19. See the recent article by John M. Lenhart, "Who Kept the Franciscan Recollects Out of Canada?" in *Franciscan Studies*, New Series, V (September, 1945), 277-300.

this field at the invitation of the Capuchins. His mission was exceptionally successful, the Indians docile and appreciative. But after his death, there were no permanent missions along the Kennebec.

95. The territory of Maine became, during the French-English inter-colonial wars before 1763, a sort of "Debatable Land" like Georgia had been. It went through all the vicissitudes of a debatable country. Charges and counter-charges flew back and forth. At bottom, the quarrels were mercenary in character, with a good deal of religious intolerance on either side.

96. Meantime, Jesuits like Rale, Aubéry, Loyard and their companions continued to do their missionary work as well as they could. The English accused the Jesuits of political meddling, and of inciting the Indians sympathetic to the French to go on the warpath. Feelings ran high, and finally resulted in the cruel death of Fr. Rale at the hands of the English.

97. Père Sebastian Rale is the most famous of the missionaries in the Abenaki region. He was a profound thinker and scholar, while at the same time a man of ready action. He came to New France in 1689 with Frontenac, and immediately began a study of the native dialects. During his studies he began a dictionary of the Abenaki language. Except for a period of two years in the Illinois country, he spent most of his priestly life in Maine. He was one of the last to work among the Abenaki; he was in a position to profit by the experience of those who had preceded, while he himself was a keen student of Indian nature.

Had he met with no obstruction in his task, history would have had a different story to tell. Much of his energy was spent in rendering the tribe sedentary; he realized that no amount of preaching or teaching would produce permanent effects upon those who wandered among pagan neighbors or dissolute whites. To render his charges stationary he encouraged agriculture, while at the same time he recognized that the economic and climatic conditions were such that dependence upon the crops alone would mean starvation. Whenever then they made ready to set out on their seasonal migration to fish

or to hunt, he was prepared to accompany them with portable chapel and all things necessary for the daily Mass . . . The attachment of the Indians to his person made him a force to be reckoned with . . . In his own day, his associates regarded him as a saint during life and as a martyr in his death . . . To his English contemporaries his name was a synonym for "brutality, treachery and villainy".²⁰

98. After Fr. Rale's death, his Indians scattered; many fled to the Canadian missions. But by 1730 some of them must have returned to their old home, for we find Jesuit Fathers working there again. After 1766, however, there is no further mention of this tribe or mission.

99. Subsequent to this time, there were desultory attempts at mission work in Maine, but the continual state of war, plus the intolerent attitude of the New Englanders, made priestly work difficult. During the American Revolution, the governments of the New England states acceded to the demands of the Indians for priests, but this was only political necessity, to protect their outlying villages from Indian attack.

It is interesting to observe that many of the Indians of Maine have preserved their religion to this day—a living memorial of the solidness of the Faith implanted in their hearts by the French missionaries of old.

IROQUOIS MISSIONS IN NEW YORK STATE

100. French missionary efforts in what is now New York state were almost entirely confined to the work of the Jesuits among the Iroquois.

101. The first Jesuits in New York state were brought there as Indian captives. The story of Fr. Isaac Jogues and René Goupil is well known. There is no need to repeat it here. St. Isaac Jogues is regarded as the founder of the Mohawk mission (The Mohawks were one of the five confederated nations of the Iroquois family), but his sufferings rather than his labors give him this title.

20. M. Celeste Leger, *Catholic Indian Missions in Main, 1611-1820* (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1929), p. 78 ff.

102. The Iroquois as a whole, especially the Mohawk nation, were throughout colonial history generally inimical to the French, and to the Huron tribes (friendly to the French). They finally utterly destroyed the Huron Indians as a tribe.

God's grace works slowly. Finally, in 1654, one of the Five Nations of the Iroquois—the Onondagas—asked for French missionaries. But distrust was still in their hearts, and it was not until next year that a real mission was established at Onondaga. It lasted only two years. Then another outbreak was imminent, and the French priests left for Canada.

103. After 1666 the missions were reestablished on a much larger scale; in fact, by 1668 missions had been opened in the cantons of each of the Five Nations of the Iroquois.

104. Of these missions, that among the Mohawks was fittingly called "The Mission of the Martyrs." This mission was closest to the Dutch and English settlements and their anti-French influence, and suffered accordingly. The firearms and liquor which the Indians procured from the English interfered with the progress of religion. Nevertheless, the Mohawk was the most promising mission, and was preferred by some of the zealous missionaries. Some of the converts were of the highest type. The fairest flower of this mission was the Indian maid, Catherine Tekakwitha, known as the "Lily of the Mohawks." She gave herself completely to God from the day of her baptism.

105. In all these missions, the Fathers lived in constant danger of death. They never knew when their Indian charges would turn on them and torture and kill them, as they had done to Fr. Jogues. They were given only a few years to work among these Indians. Political conditions and the threat of war blighted their efforts after a very short space of years.

106. In the eyes of the Jesuits, the Iroquois mission was the most cherished of all fields. But, sad to say, French political machinations finally totally ruined their zealous attempts. French civil authorities even used the missionaries to entrap Iroquois chiefs. Under such conditions, the missions could not continue.

The Iroquois mission ended definitely when France recognized the suzerainty of the British over the Iroquois confederacy in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).²¹

MISSIONS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

107. Jesuits were the first Indian missionaries in the Mississippi Valley, and down to the time of their expulsion they continued to constitute the largest single group of mission workers. Priests of the Seminary of Quebec (so-called "Seminary Priests"), an offshoot of the Paris Foreign Mission Seminary, labored from 1698 until 1763, mostly in the missions of the Mississippi Valley.

108. French Franciscans or Recollects were also present in considerable numbers. Their primary work was to serve as chaplains of exploring expeditions and as pastors of French forts and settlements in the Upper Lakes Region and in the eastern part of the Illinois country. Only incidentally did they labor among the Indians near these forts and settlements, and hence their labors for the most part do not fall within the scope of this account. French Capuchins served the same purpose in Lower Louisiana, with headquarters at New Orleans. The Discalced Carmelites were present in Lower Louisiana for only a few years. Some scattered diocesan priests also labored there at various times, but their work was not organized, and hence not permanent.

109. For purposes of clarity, we are dividing French mission work in the Mississippi Valley into three parts:

A. The missions in the Upper Lakes Region: Wisconsin, Michigan, Northern Indiana and Northern Ohio.

B. The missions in the Illinois Country, or Upper Louisiana.

C. The missions in Lower Louisiana.

21. For a fuller account on this much-written field of history, cf. any of the standard biographies of Catherine Tekakwitha or St. Isaac Jogues and his Companions. See also Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, and *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites. The *Relations* of 1656-57 are almost entirely devoted to the Iroquois Mission.

A. MISSIONS IN THE UPPER LAKES REGION

110. French penetration of the Mississippi Valley began with the voyage of Jean Nicolet, explorer and trader, to the Green Bay region of Wisconsin in 1634. Jesuits were soon to follow this bold explorer. In 1656 two Fathers set out for the West, but one was slain by Iroquois, and the other turned back to Montreal. In 1660 Fr. René Ménard, S.J., accompanied a westward bound flotilla of Ottawa Indians. He began a mission at Chequamegon Bay in Wisconsin. While on a missionary journey he became lost in the dense forests, and was never heard of again. His place was taken by Fr. Allouez, who was destined to labor for twenty-four years in the West country. Chequamegon was a trading center for the Indians of the whole territory. Fr. Allouez was enabled to plant the seed of the Gospel in many souls. But the over-all results of his labors were very disappointing, even the friendly Hurons showing slight interest in Christian doctrine.

111. As more missionaries arrived—Frs. Nicolas, Marquette, Dablon, Druillettes, André and others—more missions were founded in the interior of Wisconsin and the Lake Region, the most important of them being that of St. Francis Xavier at Green Bay. Missions were founded and abandoned according to political necessity. It must be remembered that by 1700, the French Indian policy was briefly to erect a few forts to hold a frontier and to use the missionaries, instead of soldiers, to keep the Indians loyal. As a result, whenever possible, converted Indian tribes were resettled near the forts, where the bad example of evil whites often undid the good work of the Fathers. When such resettlement was not possible or regarded as not advisable (by the government) the missionary was sent out only to certain strategic tribes, whose support the French needed.

112. Fr. Allouez had perhaps the most arduous job of all. His task was to follow the roving Indian tribes throughout the territory of Wisconsin and Michigan, ministering and preaching to them.

113. Besides those above-mentioned, missions were also established in the state of Michigan on the St. Joseph River; on

Lake Pepin in Minnesota; near present day Lafayette, Indiana; and on Sandusky Bay, Ohio. Others were of less importance.

114. The French Franciscans or Recollects were active as chaplains at Detroit since 1701, as well as at the other French forts in Ohio and Pennsylvania. The first chaplain at Detroit, Fr. Constantin Delhalle, O.F.M., while striving to settle an Indian quarrel, was slain in 1706.

115. The French missionaries in the Upper Lakes region had labored zealously for almost a hundred years until the chaos consequent upon the events of 1763 suspended mission activity. Their contributions to geography, to ethnology, and to the increase of French dominion were invaluable, but their "success in converting and civilizing the Indians was not on the whole conspicuous."²² Conversions were numbered in the hundreds only due perhaps to the roving, unstable character of the Indian. Yet although the missionaries did not succeed in permanently Christianizing or civilizing any whole tribe in Wisconsin or Michigan, their labors had left an indelible impression on the Indian mind. Long after the missionaries of the colonial period had departed, these Indians spoke of them and remembered them as the men who loved the Indian. When modern mission activity began under Bishop Baraga, these same Indians welcomed the return of the missionary, eagerly listened to his words and accepted the Faith.

B. MISSIONS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

116. The Illinois country was a narrow belt of land, extending southward from Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Ohio River. The Illinois Indians lived here, the main tribes being the Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Moingwena, Peoria, Michigamea and Tam-aroa. Beginnings of missionary activity in these lands are intimately connected with the French desire to explore the Mississippi and to occupy its valley. Louis Jolliet and Fr. Marquette in 1673 met and ministered to many of them. Marquette promised to

22. G. Garraghan, "Jesuit Missions," in *Dictionary of American History*, III, 174.

return to the Kaskaskia Indians and did so, but death took him in 1675, before much could be accomplished.

These Indians, as a means of defence against the roving Iroquois, lived in a large village of over 10,000 people. Fr. Allouez ministered to them for some years, until 1687.

117. One result of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition was the determination of the French to occupy the Mississippi Valley. La Salle, accompanied by three Franciscans, Louis Hennepin, Zénobe Membré and Gabriel de la Ribourde, arrived in the above-mentioned Great Village of the Kaskaskias in 1679. Membré and de la Ribourde labored to evangelize the Illinois.²³

118. In 1680 the Iroquois defeated and dispersed the Illinois tribes at the Village, and the Illinois mission was abandoned, only to be reopened in 1689 or 1690 by Fr. Jacques Gravier, S.J. This priest worked with the Illinois until 1696. He was able to devote his entire energy to their welfare and they responded readily to his efforts. Between March 30 and November 29, 1693, Fr. Gravier baptized 206 persons, and during the winter of 1693 he counted over three-fourths of the Kaskaskias present at his instructions.

In the winter of 1691 and early spring of 1692, most of the Illinois Indians moved to the lower end of Lake Peoria, site of the present city. By 1698 six of the eight Illinois tribes dwelt in Peoria.

119. In 1698 Bishop Laval was able to send some priests of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris to the Illinois country. These missionaries chose as their chief mission the village of Cahokia, near the juncture of the Illinois, Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. It was an ideal spot for a mission. However, definite information on their success at Cahokia is very meager. It is known that they had a well-developed plantation there with an orchard, a water-mill for grinding flour, as well as a saw-mill. Wheat and maize were the principal crops, just as they were at Kaskaskia, where the Jesuits had a similar establishment. No

23. For a more complete treatment of this period, see Marion Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette, a Critical Biography of Fr. Zénobe Membré, O.F.M.* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1934). (*Franciscan Studies*, No. 13).

mention is made of a school at either mission. The Seminary Fathers seem not to have been very successful in converting the Cahokia Indians. In the end, these Indians abandoned Christianity and the Seminary Priests withdrew from this mission about 1750.

120. In 1700 the Kaskaskias migrated to the site of the city of St. Louis. Here they stayed for two and one-half years, and then moved to a site on the Kaskaskia River. The Jesuits followed their charges to both places. In the latter place the Jesuit Fathers labored with considerable success to Christianize and civilize these Indians. This was a settled community, more open to their efforts.

121. The Kaskaskias learned the use of the plow, to grow melons, maize and wheat and to raise cattle and fowl. Though there is no mention of a school, the Indians were instructed in the Catechism and taught to sing hymns in the Illinois tongue. Every Sunday afternoon Vespers were chanted. The French chanted in Latin, while the Indians responded in Illinois. Most, if not all, the Kaskaskias were converted, though it is difficult to furnish exact figures. In 1750 there were over 600 Illinois Indians of all kinds, possibly with a strong mixture of French blood, at the mission.

122. The Jesuits and Franciscans also served as chaplains at French forts throughout these regions, and the Seminary Priests served in a like capacity at several places.

In 1763 the Jesuit missionaries, six in number, were driven from the Illinois country. The other priests also left soon afterward, due to Pontiac's Indian Revolt. The missions were practically destroyed at this time.

123. During the ninety years of the Illinois Mission, four Illinois tribes had been contacted. Of these, only the Kaskaskias remained faithful. Their descendants still retain the treasure of the Faith. However, a recent writer says:

"In many respects the Illinois mission was the most successful of the French efforts to convert the natives of North Amer-

ica. Not so thrilling a narrative as that of the Huron mission, nor so involved in political history as that of the Abenaki, the story of the Illinois Mission is nevertheless a story of untiring devotion to the soul of the Indian."²⁴

C. MISSIONS IN LOWER LOUISIANA

124. Lower Louisiana was a more or less indefinite territory, between the Spanish possessions on the gulf, stretching northward from the delta of the Mississippi, and expanding and extending with the tributaries of that great river.

The missions among the Indians of Lower Louisiana were started in the twilight of the French regime. Begun by the Seminary Priests without proper preparations and precautions, the missions in this area were handicapped from their very foundation by the lukewarm support of the government, by the continual increase of English influence, by jurisdictional quarrels among the missionary groups and the growing restlessness and insolence of the Indians, who did not wish to back a losing power against its powerful rival.

125. Organized missionary activity was begun late in 1698 or early in 1699 by the Seminary Priests of Quebec. Fr. Francis de Montigny, Vicar-General, first took up residence among the Taenzas. Subsequently, he moved his residence to the Natchez, while retaining care of the Taenzas. Fr. Antoine Davion established his residence among the Tonicas, near present Fort Adams, Mississippi. Fr. Davion also cared for the Yazoo Indians. Both missionaries baptized many infants during the first months of their stay.

126. In May, 1700, Fr. de Montigny returned to France on mission business and never came back to Louisiana. Fr. de St. Cosme was sent down from Cahokia to take his place, while Fr. Nicholas Foucault began to announce the Faith among the Arkansas, only to be murdered by Indian guides on a trip to Mobile. The body of Fr. Foucault, first martyred Seminary Priest in the Mississippi Valley, was never found. Apparently,

²⁴. Mary Borgias Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country, 1675-1763* (Cleveland, 1931), p. 14.

no missionary took his place. In 1706 Fr. de St. Cosme, while on his way to Mobile, was also murdered. Two years later, in 1708, Fr. Davion abandoned his Tonica mission when it was menaced by English Indians. He retired to Mobile. Thus by 1708, the missions of the Seminary Priests in Lower Louisiana were abandoned. On the whole their success had been relatively slight.

127. Fr. Paul du Ru, S.J. arrived in Biloxi as chaplain for the second expedition of d'Iberville in 1700. He was primarily a chaplain, but also labored among the Indians. Two companions arrived soon after. Unfortunately, their promising beginning was cut short in 1704, when their request for a separate mission field was denied.

128. After the departure of the Jesuits, the spiritual care of the colony was entrusted officially to the Seminary Priests with headquarters at Mobile and Biloxi. From time to time they were assisted by other visiting priests. But their numbers were too few. Conditions grew steadily worse. The government became alarmed because little had been done to convert the Indians and attach them to the cause of France.

129. Hence, in 1720, the Discalced Carmelites were sent to aid in the work. Three of them arrived. But hardly had they begun to work when they were forced to leave, because they had applied directly to Rome for faculties, and not to the Bishop of Quebec, who claimed authority over the whole region.

130. The territory of the Carmelites was given to the Capuchins who had arrived in New Orleans in 1722. To the Capuchins was assigned the western half of Lower Louisiana. The usual number maintained was nine missionaries. Primarily intended for work among the French, they only incidentally labored among the adjacent Indians. Their principal stations were: New Orleans, Natchez, Point Coupée, and Natchitoches. In 1724 they began a small school for boys in New Orleans. It was called a college, but was in reality an elementary school.

131. In 1718 the Jesuits of the Illinois Country were given charge of the Indians on both sides of the River down to the

Natchez. In 1726 this grant was enlarged to include all the Indians of the entire Lower Louisiana, with headquarters in New Orleans. The Jesuits were responsible for the coming of the Ursulines to New Orleans, where they established a school for girls and took care of a government hospital.

132. The Company of Jesus was not very successful with the Indians at this late date. They were zealous enough, but the time for converting these Indians was no longer propitious. There was too much brandy being sold to them by both the French and the English. There was a more or less general uprising of the Indians and several Jesuits were martyred.

133. In 1763 the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley was surrendered to the English and the few remaining Jesuits in Lower Louisiana were expelled by the French government. While the French Capuchins remained at their posts and even received assistance from their Spanish brethren (Spain received New Orleans and the western half of Louisiana in 1763), mission activity was out of the question. The French in Louisiana, discontented with Spanish rule, rose in rebellion. O'Reilly, the Spanish leader, restored order. But the missions were never restored on any scale during colonial times.

134. In conclusion, it might be well to make a few general remarks about French mission method in general, and a comparison with Spanish methods.

Shea has this to say:

The Spanish missionaries . . . first went alone to found missions in Florida and New Mexico, and failing, adopted another system, by which each missionary corps consisted of missionaries with Spanish soldiers, Indians already converted, and mechanics. In this way the missions of New Mexico, Texas and California were carried out.

The French plan was different: the missionary planted his cross among the heathen, and won all that he could to the Faith, and whenever he could formed a distinct village of Christians; but these villages were never (in the United States) like the missions of the Spanish: the French priest left his neophyte free—setting him no task, building no splendid edifices

by his toil. The Spanish mission contained its workshops, dormitories, infirmaries, and granaries; the French mission was a fort against hostile attack, and inclosed merely the church, mission-house and mechanic's sheds—the Indians all living without in cabins or houses, and entering the fort only in time of danger.²⁵

135. Schmidlin sums up his treatment of the northern French missions as follows:

We cannot withhold a tribute of unbounded admiration for the heroic bravery and unflinching endurance of these French apostles. We must also highly commend the broad lines on which their missions were conceived . . . But we cannot blind our eyes to the fact that, after all, the number of converts won was very small, and that in this respect the northern missions cannot be compared with the Peruvian and Mexican missions of the Spanish monks with their many thousands of converts in South America. One aspect of these northern missions . . . is particularly to be deplored—an aspect which tended to affect vitally the very purpose of evangelization: this was their apparently inextricable alliance with political and temporal undertakings, and, definitely, their emphasized identification with French interests, which all too frequently lent to the missionaries the character of emissaries of the colonizing power behind them; and this it did in this instance just as decidedly as, and even more decidedly than, did the similar role assigned to the Dominicans and Franciscans among the Indians of the South.²⁶

4

The English Indian Missions

136. The last of the great European powers to enter the arena of the New World was England. But England at the beginning of the 17th century was officially Protestant. Catholic

25. Shea, *Catholic Missions*, p. 128.

26. Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, p. 450 f.

missionary endeavor did not have a chance to spread its beneficent effects. With one exception (Maryland) "the efforts made were purely individual; they were isolated and unsupported; they did not spring from any public opinion as to their necessity; and they were necessarily evanescent."²⁷

The principal lasting effects of early England Catholic missionary life and effort along the Atlantic coast are focused about the name of the Calvert family under the title of Baltimore.²⁸ The story of the founding of Maryland is well known. Lord Baltimore in 1634 applied to the Jesuits for priests for his new colony. They agreed to furnish men. Father Andrew White was the leader, with Father John Altham and the Lay Brother Thomas Gervase as associates. Before 1635 four other Jesuits joined these three, to make seven missionaries in all.

137. Upon arriving in Maryland, Mass was celebrated and a Litany of thanksgiving chanted. Saint Mary's City became the first settlement. Father White made friends with the neighboring chiefs, especially with Chilomaccon, the great chief of the Piscataway Indians. Several missions were established among the Piscataway tribe, and the Patuxent tribe of lower Maryland. Considerable attention was given also to the Potomac tribe in Virginia.

138. It is important to note that the Jesuit Fathers received absolutely no pecuniary support from Lord Baltimore or the government. Hence, from the very beginning, they joined the colony on precisely the same footing as other English gentlemen, and were given grants of land just like the others, from which they had to support themselves and the missions. It was a peculiar arrangement, and was destined to become the source of much trouble between the proprietor and the Jesuits.

The Fathers of the Society were primarily intended for the white colonists and their welfare. But, as we have seen, they extended their labors far beyond this narrow sphere.

27. Shea, *History of Catholic Missions*, p. 483.

28. See, however, John M. Lenhart, "The Capuchin Prefecture of New England (1630-1656)" in *Franciscan Studies*, XXIV (New Series III), No. 1, pp. 21-46.

139. The principal mission for Indians during the first years was that at Piscataway. It was begun in 1639. Other stations were Mattaponi on the Patuxent, Anacostia adjoining the present city of Washington, and Potopaco where nearly all the natives were baptized.

140. Knowing the influence of the chiefs, the Fathers always centered their efforts on the principal men of the tribe. Thus, in 1640, the great chief Chilomac was baptized, together with his wife and child. Before the two veteran missionaries could follow up their success, both were seized with a dangerous illness. Fr. Altham soon afterwards died, and Fr. White, although thoroughly versed in the language and manners of the people, was rendered unable to perform any missionary duty. He was not idle, however; he revised and completed the grammar, dictionary and catechism, in the language of his flock, to aid his successor in the mission.

141. Of the other Jesuits who joined the two pioneers, Fr. Roger Rigbie was the most outstanding. He composed a catechism in the Patuxent language.

142. But storms were in the offing.

The work was much hampered by the inroads of the hostile Susquehanna . . . and was brought to a sudden and premature close in 1645 by the Puritans and other malcontents, who, taking advantage of the civil war in England, repaid the generosity which had given them asylum in Maryland by seizing the government, plundering the churches and missions and the houses of the principal Catholics, and sending Fathers White and Copley to England to be tried for their lives, while Father Martwell, the new Superior, and two other missionaries escaped to Virginia. Later efforts to revive the mission field had only temporary success owing to the hostility of the Protestant Government and the rapid wasting of the native tribes. Before 1700 the remnants of the Piscataways removed bodily from Maryland and sought refuge in the north with the Delawares and Iroquois, among whom they have long since become entirely extinct.²⁹

29. James Mooney, "Catholic Indian Missions of the United States," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 385 f.

143. It is interesting to note that, while the Jesuits were the first to do missionary work in Maryland, other priests came to help them during the tumultuous days of early Maryland. Thus secular priests labored there after 1641, but, unfortunately, we know practically nothing of what they accomplished. English Franciscans entered the field in 1672, most likely due to the wishes of the Propaganda in Rome, who heeded the complaint of Lord Baltimore that only two priests were available in Maryland for all the people, white and Indian. The *Annual Letter* for 1673 of the Maryland Jesuits informs us that "two Franciscans were sent last year from England as coadjutors in the labors of the mission, between whom and ourselves fraternal charity and offices of mutual friendship are exercised to the common good of the Catholic cause."

144. Father Masseus a Sancta Barbara Massey, O.F.M., was the Superior of this mission. By 1676 their number had been raised to six. In 1700 there were five friars working in Maryland. The records for the next twenty years are very meager. We know that these friars were persecuted by bigoted governors. The last of them, Fr. Wicksted, died in 1725, bringing to a close fifty years of Franciscan missionary work in the colony of Maryland.³⁰

Various indications seem to point to a wider sphere of activity for both the Jesuits and the Franciscans. In other words, they seem to have extended their activity at times to Virginia on the south, to New Jersey and New York on the north, and to Pennsylvania to the west. But records are extremely scanty. In times of more or less general persecution, voluminous records are usually out of the question.

145. According to documents uncovered by John M. Lenhart, O.F.M., Cap., a Capuchin Prefecture was founded in Virginia in 1650. "We do not know precisely," writes Fr. Lenhart, "how long the Capuchins labored in Virginia. However, as late as the year 1689 we find mention of a Capuchin, Alexander Plunkett, doing missionary work in Virginia."³¹

30. Oliver Murray, "Franciscans in the English Colonies," in *Franciscan Educational Conference Report*, 1936. (Washington: Published by the Conference.)

31. John M. Lenhart, "An Important Chapter in American Church History," in *Catholic Historical Review*, VIII (1929), 500-525.

146. The whole 18th century in Maryland was filled with a series of repressive measures against Catholics. The outlook until the Constitution of the United States was adopted was anything but encouraging. Any widespread Indian mission work was out of the question. The handful of priests who somehow remained were occupied in keeping the Faith alive among the English Catholics.

CONCLUSION

147. We have completed our brief survey of Catholic Colonial Missions in the United States among the Indians. The reader is reminded that these few pages can form hardly more than an introduction to so vast a study. We have attempted a simple narration of facts and events, even though the accompanying problems and conflicts may have been most complicated.

148. The story of the Indian missions in the United States is indeed an inspiring story. We hope that this treatise, brief and incomplete as it necessarily is, will serve to awaken in our hearts sentiments of gratitude to these brave pioneer missionaries of Spain, France and England who laid the foundations, often at the price of their blood, of the present day Catholic Church in our country.

Study Outline

By Gerald C. Treacy, S.J.

PART 1. PARAGRAPHS 1-22

The present study covers Spanish, French and English colonial times. It deals with the labors of these nations among the Indians. The policy of the Spanish Government was to save and convert the Indian, and prepare him for his entrance into Spanish economic and political life. The French government was less interested in elevating the Indian. The British government had no interest in the temporal or spiritual welfare of the Indian.

Density of Indian population was a deciding factor in mission success. Where the population was large the chances for conversion were better and missionary zeal more productive of results.

The cultural status of the Indian was another deciding factor of missionary success. The higher the native culture, the smoother the path to conversion. It may be noted, however, that in no strata of Indian life was culture very high according to European standards.

Spanish missionaries were the first in the field, and the history of the Indian missions begins with the Southeast, Florida, Georgia and the Carolinas.

Questions

What is the scope of the present study?

What is meant by Colonial Times?

What three factors determined the extent of missionary enterprise?

State the Indian policy of the Spanish, French and English governments.

Was the effect of the Spanish policy completely satisfactory?

Where was the most densely populated region of the Indian missions?

Name the three elements to be considered in culture.

What Indians enjoyed the highest cultural level?

What sector of the United States was the first to be evangelized?

Religious communities supplied the largest number of missionaries. Why?

Name the Orders and diocesan-priest groups that manned the missions.

What group had the largest number on the mission field?

PART 2. PARAGRAPHS 23-85

The story of the Spanish Missions begins in Florida, Georgia and South Carolina. From the discovery of Florida in 1513 to the end of Spanish colonizing efforts, the missionary idea was stressed. This is evident from the Ayllon grant which states: "Our principal intent is . . . that the inhabitants may be brought to the knowledge of the True Faith." In 1565 Spain founded permanent mission stations in Florida. The first settlement was called St. Augustine. The first Mass was offered here by Fr. de Mendoza, a diocesan priest. After years of suffering, martyrdom and apparent defeat the Franciscans took over missionary work in Florida. The golden period of the Florida missions did not begin until 1603. In 1612 Florida was erected into a Franciscan Province. Within twenty years there were nine flourishing missions in Florida. By 1763 little was left of the missions of Florida when by the Treaty of Paris, the English took possession of the land. Yet Florida's mission story is a glorious one. By 1655 26,000 Indians had been converted.

New Mexico was the first of the Southwest mission fields. The Franciscans opened this field, and one of their Order, Juan de Padilla is the protomartyr of the United States. He was slain by the Indians probably in 1544. Missionary activity continued with difficulty. By 1617 there were 14,000 converts served by eleven churches. The decade after 1620 was the most glorious in the history of New Mexico.

Present day Arizona was included in Upper Pimeria. The Jesuits and Franciscans brought the Gospel to Southern Arizona. The Jesuits blazed the mission trail and the Franciscans took over later. As the Indians here were nomads it took about a century before mission stations were established.

Father Juan Larios is the central figure of the mission field of what is now Texas. The first Mass was said in Texas on May 16, 1675. The Texas missions reached their highest point in 1769 with an Indian population of about 15,000.

The California missions began in 1769 when Father Junipero Serra on July 16, preached to a group of natives at San Diego de Alcalá. The mission of San Carlos at Monterey was next established. By 1773 San Antonio, San Luis Obispo and San Gabriel were founded. The first martyr of California was Father Luis Jayme, slain by the Indians of San Diego. By 1820 there were over 20,000 Christian Indians in California. During the time of the Franciscan apostolate more than 68,000 Indians had been baptized. In 1833 the missions were secularized. This sealed their doom.

Questions

Where does the story of the Spanish missions begin?

How did the Spanish government regard the missions?

Where was the first Mass said in the United States?

Describe the missionary's daily work.

What was the result of the Pueblo Revolt?

What was the main interest of the Spanish crown in New Mexico?

What does Bolton say of Father Kino?

What happened to thousands of converted Indians after Father Kino's death?

For what was Father Garces distinguished?

Who was the central figure of the Texas missions?

At the time of Texan independence only white Pueblos remained. Why?

What was the general plan of operations in the Texas missions?

What induced the Spanish Crown to colonize Upper California?

Who was the dominant figure in the early California missions?

Who was the first martyr of California?

How did the decree of secularization affect the California missions?

PART 3. PARAGRAPHS 87-135

Maine was the scene of the first organized missionary effort by the French. The Jesuits were the first in the field. Owing to Huguenot and British opposition their work failed. The Recollects were the first missionaries in French Canada. In 1625 they invited the Jesuits to assist them. After 1632 the Jesuits were in charge of the French Canadian missions.

Missionary work in New York was among the Iroquois. The Jesuits covered this field. Jogues is the founder of the Mohawk mission. The Mohawks were one of the Five Nations of the Iroquois. One of the most difficult of all the missions, it came to an end in 1713 when France acknowledged British sovereignty over the Iroquois.

The Jesuits were the first missionaries in the Mississippi valley. Father Rene Menard was the first to get into Wisconsin. On a missionary journey he was lost in the forest. Father Allouez succeeded him and labored for 24 years in the West. He followed the wandering tribes all over Wisconsin and Michigan. Mission work extended into Minnesota and Indiana. For a hundred years the French missionaries labored in this territory.

French Jesuit missionaries covered the Illinois country. The Kaskaskias were the finest fruits of missionary effort. When they migrated to St. Louis the missionaries were able to develop them into a Christian community.

The missions in Lower Louisiana were started by the Seminary Priests. Father Foucault was the first martyred Seminary Priest in the Mississippi Valley. In 1708 the missions in Lower Louisiana were abandoned. In 1718 the Jesuits of the Illinois country entered this territory. In 1763 they were expelled by the French government.

Questions

What was the content of Cartier's commission?

What territory did Acadia embrace?

What was the story of the first missionary effort in Maine?

What was the result of the Recollects' missionary effort?

How much do we know of the Capuchin mission effort in Acadia?

- What was Father Rale's mission record?
 Why do the Onondagas stand out among the Iroquois tribes?
 What was the mission to the Mohawks named?
 When did the Mohawk mission end?
 Who were the first missionaries in the Mississippi Valley?
 What was the primary work of the Recollects and French Franciscans?
 How long did Father Alouez work in the West?
 Why was his task so difficult?
 What was one result of the Joliet-Marquette expedition?
 How did the Kaskaskias progress under the care of the Jesuits?
 Who began the missions in Lower Louisiana?
 Why was this field handicapped from the start?
 Who was the first martyred Seminary Priest in the Mississippi Valley?
 Who established the first boys' school in New Orleans?

PART 4. PARAGRAPHS 136-148

English Catholic missions centered in Maryland. Fathers White and Altham with Brother Gervase were the pioneer missionaries. St. Mary's City became the first settlement in Maryland. Missions were established among the Piscataways, Patuxents, and in Virginia among the Potomac tribe.

The main Indian mission was at Piscataway. It was begun in 1639. The mission policy was to first win over the chief. Then the members of the tribe became interested. Frs. White and Rigbie wrote catechisms in the language of their flocks. Puritan persecution brought an end to the Maryland Indian missions in 1645. Before 1700 the Piscataways fled from Maryland. Franciscans and secular priests aided the Jesuits in Maryland. Missionary work was extended to Virginia, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. Because of persecution any big Indian missionary endeavor in Maryland was out of the question. The handful of priests on the Maryland mission were occupied in keeping the Faith alive among the English Catholics.

Colonial Missions in the United States Among the Indians

by REV. MATTHIAS KIEMEN, O.F.M.

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Questions

Why did Catholic missions fail to spread under the English government?

Who were the pioneer missionaries in Maryland?

What was the first settlement in Maryland?

How did the Maryland Jesuits support themselves?

Where was the first and principal mission?

What happened to the Maryland mission in 1645?

Were the Jesuits alone in the Maryland field?

Why are the Maryland mission records meagre?

What was the chief occupation of the Maryland missionaries?

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Rev. Matthias Charles Kiemen was born in Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, on January 10, 1917. After completing his grammar-school education in St. Paul, Minnesota, he attended St. Joseph's High School and College at Mayslake, Illinois. He entered the Franciscan Order at St. Francis Novitiate, Teutopolis, Illinois, studied philosophy at Our Lady of Angels Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio, and theology at St. Joseph's Seminary, Teutopolis, Illinois, where he was ordained to the priesthood on June 24, 1943.

Father Kiemen is a Resident Associate of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Washington, D. C.



The study outline and questions for *Catholic Colonial Missions in the United States Among the Indians* were formulated by Gerald Treacy, S.J., who has prepared study club editions of various encyclicals.



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